

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01731

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, PDEV, WA, SF
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM'S MEETING
WITH NUJOMA

1. FOLLOWING SYNOPSIS OF MAIN POINTS IN SECRETARY,
GENERAL WALDHEIM'S DISCUSSION WITH SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT
OF SWAPO, APRIL 29, IS TRANSMITTED FOR THE INFORMA-
TION OF THE SECRETARY IN PREPARATION FOR HIS FURTHER
DISCUSSIONS OF NAMIBIA.

2. NUJOMA CALLED ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL AT 11:00 A.M.
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APRIL 29, AT THE REQUEST OF WALDHEIM. THE MEETING WAS
ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR ONE HOUR BUT EXTENDED TO TWO
HOURS. NUJOMA WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL TJONGARERO,
ACTING NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF SWAPO INSIDE NAMIBIA;
BISHOP LEONARD AUALA, LUTHERAN, FROM WITHIN NAMIBIA;
REV. ALBERTUS MAASDORP, LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION,
BASED IN GENEVA; AND THEO-BEN GURIRAB, SWAPO REP TO

THE UN. WALDHEIM ALSO HAD ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL ABDULRAHIM FARAH SIT IN AND TAKE NOTES.

3. POLMIN CALLED ON FARAH TO RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING RUN-DOWN ON THE DISCUSSION. DURING THE TALK WITH FARAH, THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONTACTED POLMIN BY PHONE TO ENSURE THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG WOULD RECEIVE A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING. HE ALSO URGED THAT THE FIVE ENSURE THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS MORE FULLY BRIEFED ON OUR ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS CONCERNING NAMIBIA; WALDHEIM SAID IT NOW WAS OBVIOUS THAT A NEW STAGE HAD BEEN REACHED IN WHICH A ROLE FOR THE UN MUST BE FOUND. HE SPOKE OF THE URGENCY OF OBTAINING FOR THE UN A "TOE IN THE DOOR" IN NAMIBIA, AND HE LOOKED FORWARD TO GETTING THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD TAKE NOTE OF THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENT OF ACCEPTANCE, CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO WORK OUT COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON A PLAN, AND CALL ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT HIS REPRESENTATIVE AND REPORT BACK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD. WALDHEIM ALSO URGED ON THE POLMIN THE NECESSITY FOR THE GROUP OF FIVE TO MEET AGAIN WITH SWAPO. HE WAS GRATIFIED TO LEARN THAT THE FIVE HAVE ALREADY REQUESTED AN INITIAL MEETING WITH NUJOMA ON MONDAY, MAY 1.

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4. IN HIS SUMMARIZATION OF WALDHEIM'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE SWAPO GROUP, FARAH SAID THE SECRETARY GENERAL OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY REFERRING TO NUJOMA'S STATEMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY LATE APRIL 28. WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD TAKEN CAREFUL NOTE OF THE SWAPO POSITIONS AND THE AREAS WHICH SWAPO HAD INDICATED REQUIRED FURTHER CLARIFICATION. HE TOLD NUJOMA THAT, TAKING THE STATEMENT AS A WHOLE, HE FOUND THE FIRST PART VERY STRONGLY "EMOTIONAL", WHILE THE LAST PART, CONSISTING MAINLY OF THE SUMMARY OF SWAPO'S POSITIONS, WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE TEMPERATE. HE SAID HE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE CONCLUDING SUMMARY, WHICH CONTAINED ELEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE WORKED INTO A RESOLUTION. HE NOTED AS POSITIVE ELEMENTS, FOR EXAMPLE, SWAPO'S AGREEMENT TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, A CEASE FIRE, THE PRESENCE OF UN FORCES, AND THE PRESENCE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. HE URGED EVERYONE TO BUILD ON THESE POSITIVE ELEMENTS, AND ASKED NUJOMA'S FEELINGS.

5. BEFORE SAM COULD RESPOND TO THE OPPORTUNITY GIVEN HIM BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL, BISHOP AUALA INTERVENED

IN A QUIET WAY THAT WAS VERY IMPRESSIVE TO WALDHEIM AND FARAH, STATING THAT THE MAIN HOPE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE LIES IN THE UN AND MOST PARTICULARLY IN THE SYG. HE SAID THE PEOPLE ONLY HOPE FOR UNITY, INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE. HE ALLUDED TO HIS PREVIOUS MEETING WITH WALDHEIM, WHEN THE SYG VISITED WINDHOEK IN 1973, AND TO AUALA'S OWN OPEN LETTER TO VORSTER IN 1971 ASKING FOR NAMIBIAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

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6. WHEN NUJOMA RESPONDED, HE STRESSED THAT THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER ALL PARTIES WANT PEACE, BUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. HE SPOKE EMOTIONALLY ABOUT THE BAD VORSTER RECORD FOR HONESTY AND GOOD FAITH AND CHARGED THAT IT WAS CLEAR FROM VORSTER'S STATEMENTS THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO WITHDRAW SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA, RELINQUISH THEIR CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY, OR GRANT A PRINCIPAL ROLE FOR THE UN IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS. HE REJECTED

THE ARGUMENT THAT VORSTER'S STATEMENTS WERE INTENDED FOR A DOMESTIC AUDIENCE AND SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THAT LIGHT. NUJOMA TOLD WALDHEIM THAT SWAPO WILL NOT SIGN
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A CEASE FIRE AGREEMENT UNTIL THERE IS FULL AGREEMENT TO ALL PARTS OF THE PROPOSALS. HE SAID HE COULD NOT CONVINCE SWAPO FIELD COMMANDERS TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS WHEN SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE THEIR UNLAWFUL ACTS AGAINST SWAPO LEADERS AND THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. NUJOMA ASKED WALDHEIM WHY THE FIVE HAVE HAD NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT THE ACTIONS OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL STEYN AGAINST SWAPO LEADERS AND OTHERS. HE SAID THE STEYN ACTIONS WERE OBVIOUSLY TIMED TO AFFECT THE SPECIAL SESSION, YET THE WESTERN FIVE HAVE NOT SAID A WORD ABOUT THEM.

7. NUJOMA SPOKE AT LENGTH IN REJECTING THE SO-CALLED "TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT" ATTITUDE OF THE FIVE IN TABLING THEIR PROPOSAL IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND STATING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE AT AN END. HE CHARGED THAT THE FIVE TOOK THESE ACTIONS DESPITE THEIR FAILURE TO RESPOND TO THE RESERVATIONS REGISTERED BY SWAPO IN THE MEETING WITH THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK IN FEBRUARY. NUJOMA SAID THAT IF THE FIVE INSIST ON RETURNING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT FURTHER TALKS WITH SWAPO, SWAPO WILL OPPOSE THE ACTION AND ASSUMED THAT ITS FRIENDS WOULD, TOO. HE INSISTED THAT THERE MUST BE FURTHER MEETINGS WITH SWAPO, FOR WHICH HE WOULD WISH TO CALL HIS "NEGOTIATING TEAM" FROM LUSAKA AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. NOTHING MUST BE DONE TO OBSTRUCT THE PASSAGE OF THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION THROUGH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BUT AS SOON AS THAT IS ACCOMPLISHED HE WISHED TO MEET AGAIN WITH THE FIVE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED TO WALDHEIM THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT THE FIVE WERE SEEKING A MEETING WITH HIM LATE MONDAY, MAY 1, BUT GAVE NO INDICATION OF
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HIS RESPONSE TO OUR INQUIRY.

8. ON WALVIS BAY, NUJOMA HELD TO HIS FAMILIAR HARD POSITION. HE TOLD THE SYG THAT AMBASSADOR MCHENRY HAD TOLD HIM THE U.S. COULD NOT MAKE THE UNQUALIFIED STATEMENT SWAPO WAS DEMANDING. HE ALSO SAID SECRETARY

VANCE HAD TOLD HIM IN DAR ES SALAAM THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO ABSTAIN ON A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ALONG SWAPO'S DESIRED LINES, AND THAT HE FEARED THAT SOME OF THE FIVE MIGHT HAVE TO VOTE AGAINST IT. HE SAID HE DID NOT TRUST "VAGUE ASSURANCES" FROM THE FIVE FOR THE FUTURE; UNLESS SWAPO OBTAINED SETTLEMENT OF THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE NOW, WHEN THEY HAVE THE UN BEHIND THEM, HE FEARED THAT A WEAK, NEWLY-INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WOULD FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN AS SATISFACTORY A SETTLEMENT. HE SAID HE WANTED THE STATEMENTS AND ASSURANCES ON THE RECORD, IN A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

9. FARAH SAID THE SECRETARY GENERAL, IN RESPONDING TO NUJOMA'S EMOTIONAL MONOLOGUE, SAID HE HAD TALKED WITH GA PRESIDENT MOJSOV AFTER NUJOMA'S APRIL 28 STATEMENT. MOJSOV FELT THE OUTLOOK WAS NOT AS BLEAK AS MANY SEEMED TO FEEL. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE TO THE SYG THAT WE COULD DEVELOP THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE NUJOMA STATEMENT INTO A VIABLE AGREEMENT. IN HIS FURTHER REMARKS THE SYG EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM TOWARD A SETTLEMENT, NOW THAT WE HAVE COME THIS CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT; THE UNFORTUNATE PROSPECTS IF THE COMMUNITY DISPERSES NEXT WEEK WITHOUT A SETTLEMENT; AND THE IMPORTANCE OF AGREEING TO THE WESTERN PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO GIVE THE UN "A TOE HOLD" IN NAMIBIA. THE LATTER POINT WAS STRESSED AGAIN BY WALDHEIM AS THE MOST IMPORTANT IMMEDIATE BENEFIT

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TO BE GAINED BY SWAPO COOPERATION.

10. IN PERSONAL COMMENTS ON THE MEETING, FARAH SAID AT SEVERAL POINTS NUJOMA'S COLLEAGUES ALL NODDED THEIR HEADS IN VIGOROUS AGREEMENT WITH THE SYG'S VIEWS, BUT NUJOMA WAS STONILY NEGATIVE THROUGHOUT. FARAH SAID THE SYG BELIEVES THE SOVIET INFLUENCE ON NUJOMA IS EXTREMELY STRONG, PRINCIPALLY WORKED THROUGH SOVIET TIES WITH ANGOLA. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA HAS MADE WHAT THE SYG BELIEVES ARE FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENTS TO SWAPO, OFFERING THE SOVIETS ADDED LEVERAGE AGAINST OTHER INFLUENCES ON NUJOMA. BECAUSE ANGOLA IS CONFIDENTIAL

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SO CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT TO SWAPO, THE SYG WONDERED IF THE FIVE HAVE MADE ADEQUATE ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE THE ANGOLANS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO TRY TO GET TO ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE BEFORE JORGE DELIVERS HIS STATEMENT TO THE GA ON MONDAY, MAY 1.

11. IN CONCLUSION, FARAH REEMPHASIZED THE SYG'S FEELING THAT THE NEXT STEP THAT IS ESSENTIAL, IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN GETTING THE ACTION HE DESIRES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WILL BE A FURTHER MEETING BETWEEN THE FIVE AND NUJOMA. FARAH URGED THAT THE FIVE CONSIDER SERIOUSLY WHETHER SOME FURTHER CONCESSIONS COULD BE MADE TO NUJOMA IN THE FURTHER NEGOTIATING SESSION NUJOMA SAYS HE MUST HAVE, POSSIBLY NOT IN CHANGES TO THE PROPOSALS PER SE BUT IN THE WAY THEY ARE "CLARIFIED" OR INTERPRETED BY AGREEMENT IN THE FURTHER TALKS. HE ASKED THAT HE AND THE SYG BE KEPT CLOSELY INFORMED OF THE THINKING AMONG THE FIVE AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, AND THAT THE FIVE CONSIDER HOW BEST TO DEVELOP THE GREATER UN INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROCESS THAT IS CALLED FOR IN THIS NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS. YOUNG

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